

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 920

February 12, 1954

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## REPORT FROM INDIA

By James Avery Joyce

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## No exemption for expelled school-caDET TRIBUNALS ARE A MOCKERY

### LORDS REJECT BILL FOR SOLDIER COs

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

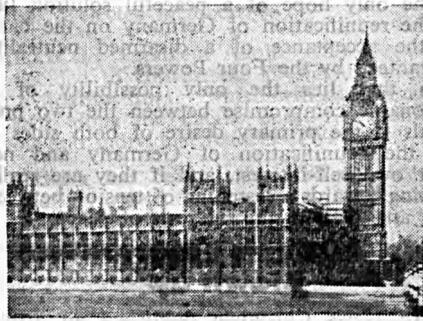
LORD CHORLEY stated that he was "not surprised but a little pained" at the reception given to his Bill concerning conscientious objection of National Service reservists, in the House of Lords on Tuesday.

He asked members who felt as he did that an injustice should be remedied to follow him into the Division lobby in order "that a little candle for justice and liberty might be kept alight in this country."

The voting was 12 for the Bill, and 39 against the second reading of the Bill.

Briefly he explained that whereas a man, when first called up, has the statutory right under the National Service Act, 1948, to go before a Tribunal, and to be exempted from National Service if his conscientious objection is considered genuine, no such right exists for the recruit who, having completed his two years of service, develops these objections

### COs AND THE LORDS



In Tuesday's debate on COs, Lord Chorley asked for support for his Bill in order "that a little candle for justice and liberty might be kept alight in this country."

during the three and a half years while still subject to part-time service.

Such a man must allow himself to be recalled, court-martialled for disobedience, and imprisoned before this right is attained.

#### Call-up was intended to be temporary

When conscription was first introduced, Lord Chorley explained, it was intended as a temporary measure to meet the aggression of Hitler and Nazi Germany; a situation in which it was necessary for men to be called up in successive years was not then envisaged.

After drawing attention to the cases of Brian Jupp, and Derek Holtom, both of whom had completed satisfactorily their period of National Service, had later changed their minds, and been imprisoned for several months, he said:

"When I raised the case of Brian Jupp with the Minister in June last I was told that under the existing law no other procedure could have taken place. It is in order to bring this unjust and futile procedure to an end that I am introducing this Bill."

He pointed out that imprisonment brought with it a stigma for the family and friends of the imprisoned; that few men of 18 were old enough to have thought out the position for themselves; that it was in fact generally agreed that an intense emotional and intellectual struggle, leading to religious conversion, was most likely to take place between the years of 18 and 25.

He did not share the view that the Bill would weaken the Services and be liable to abuse.

The tribunal system was already dealing fairly satisfactorily in sifting the sheep and goats among National Service-men; there was no reason why it should be less efficient for the National Service Reservists.

#### Contrary to the spirit of justice

Moreover, less than point two per cent. of reservists had taken up this position. There had been 24 cases in all, 18 of which had been judged sincere by the Tribunals. This, however, was no reason why the injustice should be allowed to continue.

Support for this view was given by Lord Rea, who expressed the Liberal view on freedom of conscience, and thought it contrary to the whole spirit of British justice that a man should be imprisoned before

\* Continued on back Page

### Growing demands for an inquiry

BRITAIN'S tribunals for conscientious objectors are a mockery of the provisions for COs laid down in the National Service Act.

Figures made available recently by the Ministry of Labour, as well as the behaviour of many members of the tribunals, have made this abundantly clear.

Protests against the treatment of objectors are growing both inside and outside the House of Commons and Peace News understands that grave concern at the present situation was expressed when the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors met in London recently under the chairmanship of Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP.

The figures for the past four years, which show an incredibly small number of COs being granted unconditional exemption, are:

1950 : Registered as COs 619—Granted unconditional exemption 21
1951 : Registered as COs 732—Granted unconditional exemption 16
1952 : Registered as COs 945—Granted unconditional exemption 21
1953 : Registered as COs 758—Granted unconditional exemption 25

Mr. George Craddock and Mr. Victor Yates have been pressing in the House of Commons for a change in the method of appointment to the tribunals.

When, for the Minister of Labour, Mr. Watkinson said that no changes would be made, Mr. Yates pointed out that there was widespread dissatisfaction with much of the questioning by local tribunals, especially in regard to religious objectors.

#### Photographer and the Second Commandment

In one case an objector was told that he was insincere because as a photographer he was breaking the Second Commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth."

In another case an objector was held not to have a sincere aversion to taking human life because as a fishmonger he sold lobsters which had been boiled alive.

#### Irrelevant questions

Commenting on the low number of unconditional exemptions granted by the tribunals, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union and a member of the executive of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors said on Monday:

"The very small proportion of applicants who receive unconditional exemption is illuminating and challenging."

"We have always claimed that it is impossible for any group of men in the course of a short public interview to judge as to the conscience of applicants."

"They do not seem even competent to judge of the sincerity of an applicant, and indeed, many of the questions are directed towards involving applicants in an irrelevant dilemma or in argument about some hypothetical case."

"In some instances the questions can only bring discredit on the tribunals themselves: in few can they be regarded as satisfactory under the circumstances."

"There are many within the pacifist move-

### CATHOLIC "JUST WAR" OBJECTION SUSTAINED

A CATHOLIC student, D. N. Lloyd-Philipps, was granted conditional exemption from military service by London local tribunal recently on the basis of his argument that he could not take part in indiscriminate methods of warfare.

"I should be an accessory to the act by joining any of the three Services—and as a non-combatant I should be morally responsible just the same," he said.

Paul Geiss, a humanitarian objector showed in his statement that he knew the sufferings involved in war, and that "the problems it is supposed to solve are only aggravated."

When asked why he objected to serving in the Royal Army Medical Corps he replied that soldiers whose wounds he cured would return to fight. He was told that this was not necessarily so—the wounded man could "exercise his conscience."

His application was dismissed.

Nine of the 17 applications were rejected, five men were given non-combatant duties and three conditional exemption. No complete exemptions were given.

#### The psychology of non-violence

"THOSE who propose to offer unarmed opposition to warlike aggression should make their war preparations at least as carefully and thoroughly as do their military opponents, and they should be aware of the dangers and limitations of their methods, as well as of the great possibilities and far-reaching rewards," say Dr. Norman Glaister and Mrs. Dorothy Glaister in announcing the weekend study of the Psychology of Non-Violence that they are to conduct.

The course will take place at Braziers Park, Ipsden, Oxon, from February 26 to March 1.

Among the lecture-subjects are "Individual and Group Reactions to War"; "Instances of the Use of Non-Violence"; and "Research into the Possibilities and Limitations of Controlled Human Groups."

Full particulars of the course may be obtained from The Warden, Braziers Park.

### Major strike in African coalmine 9000 SHOW GOOD WILL TO WHITE TROOPS

AN action which at one time threatened to paralyse the whole economy of Central Africa was staged last week.

Nine thousand African workers in the coalfields of Wankie in Southern Rhodesia came out on strike. The same day the strike was declared illegal under the Master and Servant Act.

Nevertheless it went on. The men stayed in the barrack-like compounds where they are housed, and refused to go down the shafts. African domestic servants in the area joined them.

#### Mechanised enough for Whites

Crisis calls were sent to all mines in the Rhodesias for European volunteers to go to the crippled mine. Production was cut in the copper mines of the north which depend on coal from Wankie.

By means of the White labour it was expected that No. 2 colliery which is "sufficiently highly mechanised to permit its continuing in operation without African labour," would be able to increase its output.

It was estimated that with the volunteers the coalfield would get up to half its normal production.

But as the strike went on, the Government, becoming more alarmed, took emergency steps. Six hundred soldiers and armoured cars were sent to the district and all meetings of more than three Africans in Bulawayo were banned.

#### Hampered by lack of information

Reports varied as to the origin of the strike. Some said it was for higher wages, others that the men demanded three to five shillings a day in place of rations.

Mr. Garfield Todd, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said that the colliery company was against this as the workers would not then feed themselves properly. Yet the full cause of the strike was obviously not known, or if known, not disclosed. Mine officials said they were hampered by lack of information about the strike and the factors underlying it.

At the end of a week the strike collapsed. But the Government was still worried. Nearly a thousand workers had set off for their homes in Northern Rhodesia. Attempts were being made to recruit new labour in Nyasaland. There was talk of a general strike throughout Rhodesia and police and troops remained on guard.

The predominant feature of the strike, the most important demonstration of mass resistance in Africa in recent months, was its complete non-violence. It was not merely that there was a lack of incidents. A Government spokesman said that the troops from Salisbury were greeted "with extreme goodwill." Amicable relations between Africans and Europeans were reported to have been preserved throughout.

#### Active neutrality for Indonesia

The foreign policy of Indonesia is based on active independence said Dr. Sunario, the Foreign Minister, this week. This meant that she would not tie herself to any particular bloc. She had close relations with India, Pakistan and Ceylon and had concluded treaties of friendship with many near neighbours in Asia. She hoped soon for such a treaty with Siam.

### OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES . . .



## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

February 12, 1954

### THE WORLD CRISIS BEHIND BERLIN

**I**F some settlement that will prolong the present relaxation of tension between the powers is to be achieved at Berlin it will doubtless only be arrived at after the Conference has jolted along from crisis to crisis of the kind we have been witnessing, with Mr. Molotov and Mr. Dulles taking the lead in turn in playing the role of intransigent and unaccommodating participant.

Much as we hope that Berlin will bring some positive result, however, we must not overlook the cardinal fact that behind the issues being discussed there is inevitably developing a world crisis of incomparably greater gravity than any that may occur at Berlin.

That developing crisis is the outcome of the development of atomic power. We do not mean by this the impact on the world economy of atomic energy for industrial purposes, but the fact that the dominating aspect of what is incongruously called "defence" preparation is now the destructive power of the atom and hydrogen bombs.

We have already pointed out that this development means the imminent end of the arms race. Recent articles in *Izvestia* indicate that the Russians are now in a position to launch atomic missiles from submarines and these could obviously be used for the destruction of the American coast towns; and that the two-stage rocket bomb that the Germans were seeking to develop at the end of World War II is being developed by the Russians for use with the atomic bomb.

Russian claims that they have been following close on the heels of America in the production of atomic weapons have hitherto been found to be justified and there is no reason to doubt these later claims.

Doubtless the US is also making further advances, but apart from the development of new ways of conveying the bombs further advances are becoming superfluous. These two great powers are either already in the position, or are rapidly approaching the position, when each is capable of bringing about the complete destruction of the other. Destructive power of this order has become absolute and there is no point in adding to it.

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We reiterate that this means that in its essentials the arms race is ended. The revolutionary scientific development in the field of physics will thus have revolutionary consequences in the field of the world's economic arrangements.

War and preparation for war, before it became possible to use atomic bombs, had played an essential stabilising part in the world's economy. Hitherto every major crisis of what is called "over-production" (a term related, not to human needs, but to an economy based on the profit-motive and private capital accumulation) has been brought to an end by the waste of war, or relieved by the waste of intensive armaments production.

These economic safety-valves are there no longer.

As Field-Marshal Montgomery has asserted, in the egregious interview he has given to the US News and World Report so that he might be contributing to the Berlin Conference, "if a war starts . . . both sides, if they have got atomic weapons will use them"; and, of course, both sides have not only got such weapons but possess them in large quantities. War as a means of economic relief is therefore out of the picture, and so is further armaments expansion because such expansion is an obvious futility.

In the field of "conventional" armaments the USA has declared a policy of concentrating power in its atomic strength and reducing its tendency to scatter its man-power all over the globe. There is to be no further war of the Korean type. Asians are to fight Asians; the only alternative is to be all-out atomic conflict.

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Now the American Press has already shown much evidence of business disquiet regarding any prospect of the scaling down of armaments. It was to be seen at the Korean armistice and it has always been apparent in relation to any prospect of a general disarmament agreement. The problem was to find a profitable use for the enormous productive capacity being poured down the drain in the provision of armaments.

Looked at from a human standpoint, without regard to the power men can exercise over other men through maintaining industry on the basis of profit and the private accumulation of capital, the problem is not a difficult one. The resources that are represented by NATO's £26,000,000,000 arms bill could remove all the most acute poverty that exists in the "free world," doubling the living standards of the whole of Asia outside Russia.

To do this, however, would destroy the whole economy upon which the American wealth-hierarchy exists. The underdeveloped countries will have to be developed on the old basis of capital investment. Paradoxically it is China that is likely to present the most effective field here. India, for example, is manifesting considerable resistance to being developed industrially on the Western plan.

### And now for negotiations

BOTH sides in the Berlin Conference have now explained their scheme for the reuniting of Germany and neither plan is acceptable to the other side.

The real work of the Conference must now begin, for it was not called to provide a platform on which each side could state its own case, but for the purpose of trying to reach an agreement.

It was known in advance that the points of view would differ very considerably and if Mr. Anthony Eden's call for conference meant anything it implied a readiness to try to find a compromise solution after the plans advanced by both sides had been rejected.

If both sides are really determined to find a peaceful solution to the German problem and if they will start from the basic agreement about the unification of Germany and free elections for an all-German Government with whom a Peace Treaty can be concluded it must be possible to find a compromise solution. Korea and UN Assembly

### No thaw yet in cold war

HOW far is it possible to strike a balance between the proposals put forward by Mr. Eden on behalf of the West and the scheme so far outlined by Mr. Molotov? Both sides at least profess to desire the reunification of Germany; to agree that the peace treaty must finally be approved by an all-German Government to be created by the process of free elections, and that the reunified Germany should be admitted as a member of the United Nations.

It is in the implementation of these points that the disagreement has become clear.

**T**HE WESTERN VIEW: The representatives of the Four Powers should prepare the electoral law for all-German elections, taking into consideration existing methods of elections in Eastern and Western Germany; and the elections should be supervised by the four Occupying Powers with or without neutral observers.

The all-German Government should be free to assume or reject the international rights and obligations of the Federal Republic and the East German Government, and free to accept or reject German participation in the European Defence Community.

The Western plan does not include any specific reference to German rearment or to the question of the Eastern frontiers or to the withdrawal of occupation forces.

The implication is that the restoration of sovereignty to Germany, the power "to conclude international agreements consistent with the Charter" and the anticipated admission of Germany to UN carry the right of Germany to rear. If so, there is nothing to suggest any restriction on the rearment of Germany unless by accepting the terms of EDC a united Germany would be restricted to the German contribution which that involves.

No obligation of a political or military character so far assumed by the governments of either Western or Eastern Germany should be imposed on all-German Government.

**T**HE SOVIET VIEW: The arrangements for free elections should be organised by the Germans themselves, and a provisional Government composed of representatives from East and West Germany should make the necessary preparations, and also undertake preliminary consideration of the peace treaty.

The power of the new all-German Government should be restricted by an understanding that it would not enter into any coalition or military alliance directed against any country which participated in

**T**HE collapse, in Italy, of the Fanfani Government before it could get going and the boredom which characterised the parliamentary discussions preceding the no-confidence vote, indicate the depth of the political crisis in that country—similar, incidentally, to the situation in France.

There is a desperate need for a Third Camp position and movement, if the crisis in such countries as Italy is not to become chronic and to be "resolved" eventually only by some upheaval which definitely lands the country either in the Communist or in the Western camp. Such an upheaval would bring with it also drastic changes in the internal economy of the country and in its political structure.

Whatever may be the differences between the Capitalist and the Communist outlooks they meet in their conceptions as to the scale and form of industrial development. It is China's 500 million population that is likely to offer the best immediate field for the necessary outlet for American private capital as a means of staving off for a time the threat of economic crisis.

We think, therefore, that we are likely shortly to see a *volte face* on the part of the big business section of the Republican Party on the question of the American attitude to China, as soon as it is realised that the continuance of an arms race can no longer be the means to their retention of economic power.

The opening up of an industrialised China may put off for a few years the crisis which will bring the complete breakdown of the American economy. The same issue will then have to be faced in an even more complete and final form, so it would be well for the world if the ultimate necessity for a new form of economy—squarely grounded on human need—could be faced and accepted now.

The key to the future of the world lies in the moral realisation that we should bring aid to the development of the under-developed countries because of our recognition that under-development means misery and not because it offers the opportunity for a "rake-off."

## BEHIND THE NEWS

the war against Germany.

Germany should be permitted to have such national forces as would be required for her defence, but limited to tasks of an international character and the defence of frontiers.

The frontier boundaries should be those fixed at the Potsdam Conference in 1945. All foreign troops to be evacuated within twelve months of the signing of the peace treaty.

Mr. Molotov subsequently produced his plan for a referendum to enable the German people to decide for themselves, as he put it, between EDC with its German army and a peace treaty.

### Odds on

**T**HE Western Powers are obviously basing their policy on the firm hope that an all-German Government would contain a majority of members favouring an alliance with the West, and, therefore, willing not to reject but

**"I know of one man who said he felt disinclined to kill his fellow men. He was sent to see the psychiatrist."**

—Conscript's letter to the *Daily Herald* (February 4) describing interview with Army Personnel Selection Officer.

to assume the commitments of the West German Government through the Bonn and Paris Agreements.

Though M. Bidault talked about the willingness of the Western Powers to run the risk and suggested that Mr. Molotov should be equally willing, we believe that they regard that risk to be very small indeed.

If France is already suspicious of a German rearment limited by its obligations under EDC, how much more afraid would she be of a united Germany which refused to participate in EDC but was, apparently, free to carry out a rearment programme without any limitations?

### Defence?

**H**ERE, perhaps, is one of the fundamental difficulties in both plans.

We have often questioned the reality of talking about forces purely for defence.

The West claims that any armaments in the hands of members of the European Defence Community can be regarded as defensive. With the knowledge that adequate defence must involve the hope of deterring and defeating an aggressor any defence force can claim to be as well and adequately armed as the potential aggressor.

Where is the limit to be set?

Unless it is anticipated that an all-German government will be restricted by the provisions of EDC, what other restrictions are to be imposed?

If an all-German government is at any stage to be restricted in the size and character of its armaments, as implied in the Western policy and provided for in the Soviet plan, why is it an impossible infringement of German sovereignty to go the whole way and ask that Germany shall take the lead in all-round disarmament by remaining disarmed herself?

## Alternative to the war camps

It is probably necessary to interject here the observation that by a Third Camp we do not mean a third power grouping which would not have a socio-economic regime differing in vital respects from the Communist totalitarian or the capitalist regime.

### Way out from the power struggle

It is precisely because of the fact that in the world today there is as yet no Third Camp which offers a genuine economic, cultural and spiritual alternative to the masses and a true escape from the power struggle, violence and war, that the crises take on the form exhibited so clearly in Italy.

Fanfani's party was the middle of the road Christian Democratic Party. He was identified with the Left-wing of this Centre, which wishes to effect considerable social reforms,

### LETTER FROM U.S.A. By A. J. Muste

but without radically altering the internal power structure, and remaining in the Western camp in its foreign policy.

This does not meet the needs of the workers and peasants in a country so disadvantaged as Italy is.

But in trying measurably to alleviate their condition the Left-wing of the Christian Democrats arouses the suspicion of its own Right-wing industrialists and cannot get the support of Monarchs and others still farther to the Right.

A more or less radical economic programme, on the other hand, cannot be carried out without the support of the unions and, consequently, of the Left-wing (Nenni) Socialist Party. But this party has for long had an action agreement with the Communist Party. It is, therefore, impossible to draw Nenni's party into the Government without informally—and presently formally—taking in the CP.

This, of course, means a break with the West, turning the back on the US orientation, alliance and economic aid. By the same token, it means a shift toward Russia and the Communist bloc which would have profound reper-

### And security

**I**F there is any real hope of agreement in the direction of general disarmament, why choose this moment to add to the volume of armaments which it is desired to reduce by rearming Germany?

The best security for Germany's neighbours is a Germany which is neutral and disarmed. The best guarantee to Russia lies in the lessening, if not the removal, and certainly not in the increasing of what she regards as a threat.

It is here that there is a field for discussion as yet untrodden. What, for instance, would Russia be prepared to offer to satisfy the Western desire for security, if the Western Powers were to consent to abandon EDC and any attempt to bring a united Germany into it?

### Referendum

Mr. Molotov's suggestion of a referendum was a strategic move which puts the Western Powers on the horns of a dilemma.

If they are really willing to allow the future relations of Germany with other countries to be freely decided by an all-German government, and to run the risk of that government repudiating the Bonn and Paris Agreements, why should they object to extending that principle by means of a referendum?

The difficulties arise in terms of what is involved in a referendum. The way Mr. Molotov poses the alternatives is neither fair nor reasonable, for he sees the issue in clear-cut terms of either EDC or a Peace Treaty.

Perhaps the main difficulty about any referendum is that of putting the issue clearly and concisely, and ensuring that those who vote really appreciate the issue involved. Nor is Mr. Eden's reply, that the elections for an all-German government would virtually be a referendum, satisfactory, at any rate to Mr. Molotov who has some reason to fear that, as in the recent elections in Western Germany, the contending parties, if not the individual electors, might be influenced by the outside pressure which has been so severe during the past few years.

### The solution

We have always believed that the choice is between EDC and German reunification and that still seems to us to be the fundamental issue, since there is no sign that Russia will be ready to acquiesce in a reunification of Germany which would lead to its public incorporation in the Western system of defence.

The Western plan is bad because it is based upon the hope that a reunified Germany will adhere to the West. The Soviet plan is bad because it provides for German rearment in the shape of a so-called defence force.

The only hope of a peaceful solution lies in the reunification of Germany on the basis of the acceptance of a disarmed neutrality guaranteed by the Four Powers.

In that lies the only possibility of a reasonable compromise between the two proposals if the primary desire of both sides is for the reunification of Germany and not their own self-interest, and if they are really looking towards a lessening of tension between East and West in the interests of peace.

### Mr Attlee's ammunition blown up

**T**HE News Chronicle published an article last month about the Admiralty's detection service in which it was stated that the cause of all cases of malicious damage that had been investigated in the Navy had proved to be "what is known in Room 1001 as discontent or hooliganism."

"Not since the end of the war has there been any indication that spies are concerned."

Many readers will share with us the recollection of a broadcast on July 30, 1950, by

● on back page

cussions in the Balkans, the Mediterranean area and the Middle East.

Except in countries like Great Britain and the Scandinavian ones, which are advantageously situated in an economic sense, it is not possible to avoid this Socialist-Communist linking, the persistent emergence of the United Front alignment, whenever it suits CP tactics. Even in the former countries, the link with NATO and the dependence on US military backing remind us that even they are not truly masters of their own destiny.

The reasons why the pattern seen in Italy develops are plain. For one thing, until democratic socialism develops a distinctive economic goal and also spiritual incentives which would enable people to endure an austerity situation for a time, the CP can always argue that it is just carrying the Socialist, i.e. collectivist, concept to its logical conclusion and that it is only in the Communist bloc that a truly international "socialism" can be found.

### Non-violent revolution

Secondly, until Socialists and other democratic forces come to real grips with the problem of social (domestic) violence and war—unless, in other words, they develop a philosophy, strategy and discipline of non-violent revolution—they cannot keep themselves or the masses out of the embrace of the CP—except, of course, by being crushed in the embrace of some kind of reaction, counter-revolution of the Right. For the CP and its unions and other allies can always make more radical "demands" in time of crisis and can always claim that they are the only element ready to use the force, the ruthless means, which alone can suffice to take power for the exploited masses and set them on a new road.

Only a movement which has foreseen violence and which has an alternative socio-economic goal and spiritual dynamic can, it seems to me, break the polarisation toward one or other of the present war camps, toward the totalitarian or the Capitalist socio-economic regime, which we witness in Italy and elsewhere and which can only lead to all-out war eventually.

## YOUR WORLD LAST WEEK

**BRAZIL**: After a struggle which threatened the life of co-operative societies, the Supreme Court has ruled that co-ops need not pay taxes. (WP)

**ENGLAND**: Local inhabitants farmers and the Essex County Council are protesting against a proposal to create an army bomb range on about 1,000 acres of agricultural land at Potters Island, Essex. An official said the land is high class agricultural land and yielded £25,000 worth of food in 1952. A public enquiry is to be held.

**FRANCE**: First in a series on 'The Race Question and Modern thought' has been prepared by UNESCO. It is a booklet by Father Congar of the Dominican Order and has the approval of the Catholic Church. Father Congar links race prejudice, in origin and development, with colonialism, and says: "Any form of racism—even in modified guise—attacks the very heart of Christianity, which is love." (WP)

**GOLD COAST**: Discussions regarding amendments to the constitution are going on between the British and Gold Coast Governments. When they are completed the old Assembly will be dissolved and a new one elected.

**NIGERIA**: The constitutional conference has ended, Mr. Lyttelton said, in agreement on all the matters that came before it. Under the new constitution the responsibilities of the regional Governments will be considerably enhanced and there is much work to be done in transferring duties from the centre to the regions. The amended constitution is not expected to take effect until after July this year.

**MALAYA**: Changes in the system of election to the federal Legislative Council are proposed in the report of a committee set up to advise on changes. They recommend that only fifty per cent. of the Council should consist of elected members.

**MEXICO**: President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines has decided to convert the presidential yacht into a floating library which will carry books to ports along the Pacific coast for loan to schools and individual readers. (WP)

**TURKEY**: Turkey has become the 33rd country to sign the UN convention on the political rights of women. Two more nations must ratify the convention before it comes into effect.

**USA**: First official confirmation of the fact that a US H-Bomb device had been exploded was given by President Eisenhower. He implied that the US is now far ahead of the stage in bomb development reached at the time of that explosion. Another thermonuclear device is to be tested this summer at Eniwetok in the Pacific.

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## REPORT FROM INDIA

### The West seen from the East

**JAMES AVERY JOYCE**, on a "good will" tour of the Middle East and India, has met political leaders in both Cairo and New Delhi during the last few weeks. He maintains that India's "non-alignment" policy may well prove to be the turning-point in the Cold War for which so many millions have been waiting.

**TWENTY** minutes as the plane flies east of Cairo, 80,000 British citizens in uniform live precariously day by day behind barbed wire and sandbags hemmed in on a narrow strip of Egyptian soil with their backs to the Suez Canal, surrounded by mile after mile of hostile desert and, worse, the far more implacable hostility of the entire Arab world.

When I left Cairo for India a fortnight ago the Arab League was in session in the Egyptian capital—a city which is fast becoming the metropolis of the Middle East, new factories, schools, flats, and barracks springing up almost overnight.

The seven Arab countries did not mince words in their final resolutions.

First, on no excuse whatsoever will they tolerate a single British soldier on their soil.

Second, if a threat of "aggression" appears on the horizon, when the British have cleared out, it is for the Egyptian Government, and them alone, to decide whether or not to invite the British back.

And, third, the pretext that the British should stay on for "just a little while longer," until the long-planned Middle East Defence Pact is signed and sealed, has no meaning to the Arab world. They won't have the Pact at any cost.

This last attitude is of prime importance to the British, though I had to come all the way to Cairo to grasp it fully.

NATO propaganda is so insistent and insidious in Britain that we have very little idea, from the slanted Press reports we imbibe with our morning tea, how determined are these Arab governments to check at the Suez Canal the eastward march of "Western Imperialism" (as NATO becomes translated into Arabic).

As Hugh J. Schonfield has so clearly traced in the final chapter of his incomparable study, THE SUEZ CANAL IN WORLD AFFAIRS, the character of British strategy towards the Canal has undergone a drastic change in the last three years.

Now that title deeds (questionable though they were) have definitely run out, we are forcibly treating the Egyptians to a time-honoured course of gunboat diplomacy until they will agree—as we imagine they eventually must—to General Slim's cynical terms of two years ago: "Either you come into our Pact, or we won't go home; and if you do come into our Pact, there's no need for us to go home!"

#### New sense of destiny

But those days are past. And everybody I have met East of Suez knows it, even if the British Government does not. The Asian-Arab half of the globe is visibly astir with a new self-consciousness and a new sense of destiny. The Suez Canal is fast becoming the Bastille of the Twentieth Century World revolution.

The dignified, speedy and unconditional withdrawal of British military control—which was never envisaged in the original concession or conventions which give the Canal its international status—would do more to advance security in the Middle East and win us Europeans the co-operation of these definitely non-Communist countries than the blind and stupid policy of the armed camp, which represents the limits of the NATO military mind.

Yet it is only when one moves farther East that one appreciates the new series of concepts which are making their way into world relations, concepts which, if seized upon by the West, will assuredly transform the nature of the present ideological and strategic struggle.

It may well be that India's unambiguous policy of "non-alignment," if steadfastly pursued by her and broadened out into an expanding (to use Nehru's own term) "Peace Area," will prove to be the turning point of modern history. At least, it can provide us with the breathing space which is necessary for a fresh attempt at world settlement.

In a journal here, a leading Indian writer, Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya, contrasts India's foreign policy with that of the "cold war" countries in the following passage:

"The approach of the Nehru government to world problems is entirely different. It has supreme faith in the possibility of international disputes being settled by negotiation. The appeal made by it to the UNO to settle the dispute in Kashmir, the part it played in the achievement of freedom by Indonesia, its proposal for signing a no-war agreement between India and Pakistan, the successive attempts made by it to settle the Korean crisis through peaceful means and, later, the readiness with which the Indian Custodian Force was sent to Korea in connection with the repatriation of the prisoners-of-war, and the patient waiting to secure a peaceful solution for the problem of the foreign possessions in India—all these illustrate the intensity of this faith."

"Apart from this, there is the practical viewpoint that India cannot afford, in the present stage of her economic and political development, to fritter away her limited resources in military enterprises and in war industries. It was as a result of these positive considerations that the Government of India arrived at its policy of non-alignment." It was this ambitious plan of (if I can coin



NEHRU

a phrase) "national detachment" which ran through the speeches of the 59th session of the All-India Congress, which I attended near Calcutta.

Being given a seat among the "distinguished visitors" in the giant tent, or *pandel*, which formed part of a new town built to accommodate 500,000 delegates, observers, and visitors, thirty miles outside Calcutta, I listened to Nehru and other Congress leaders expound with almost unanimity this No-More-War doctrine.

At the "open session," which represented the biggest open-air meeting I have ever attended, one speaker—for the Congress Party is a loosely-knit party and its platform is wide—tried to put up a case for countering the USA-Pakistan Pact with an alliance with Russia. But he was heard in chilly silence.

It is no exaggeration to claim that at this Congress—this other camp—Nehru stood out not merely as the leader of India, but as the spokesmen of Asia.

From the East, a world statesman has come to the aid of the West.

For Nehru's policy is a practical application of Gandhi's words:

"What India is trying to say to the world is a constant challenge to our power of interpretation and can be repeated to both Moscow and Washington. It is the essence of our creed and fundamental to an understanding of our way of life as well as our political stand. You know what I think—the end in itself is not important—unless the means we follow to achieve it are right. The countries of the Western World would do well to try to understand this. It is what you must explain to the people of America. Until the implications of this are clear to them, there will be no appreciation whether now or in the days ahead, of the stand our country will take on important issues."

#### U.S. poll shows tolerance for COs

**I**N touring the midwest of the USA, Walter Gormly, of the War Resisters' League, has polled some non-pacifist audiences on their attitudes towards war objectors after he had explained the pacifist position.

He did this by secret ballot asking them to designate which of four positions was closest to theirs.

The number subscribing to each position is listed below.

Some marked their ballots to indicate they took a position between two of those classifications and are listed below as "intermediate position" between the two which bracket their viewpoint.

While not necessarily taking that position myself, I do believe there should be war objectors. .... 44

Intermediate position ..... 2

While not believing there should be war objectors, I have no aversion to them and wouldn't mind having one for a close friend ..... 41

Intermediate position ..... 7

War objectors should be imprisoned for resisting the draft ..... 11

They should be shot ..... 2

Iowa and near-Iowa war resisters are urged to arrange speaking dates for Walter Gormly. He can be contacted at 412 West Third Street, West, Mount Vernon, Iowa.

**UNITED NATIONS**: The Trusteeship Council which opened its thirteenth regular session on January 28, has authorised two oral hearings for the representatives of two petitioning bodies—the Convention Peoples Party of British-administered Togoland, and the Dagomba State Council.

Slabs of Israeli stone cut from the hills of Jerusalem are to form the base and setting for a large Japanese peace bell and pagoda-like enclosure to stand on United Nations ground. The 880 slabs are gifts of Israel and Japan.

February 12, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

## PEACE ILLUSTRATED



PICTURES are the most powerful form of direct education known. From Babylon to the United Nations Organisation they have been used to great effect. One of their widest uses today is in the training of personnel in the military services of the world. Here they teach the refinements of robotism.

Happily they are also used in Fundamental Education programmes to impart new knowledge to men in need. But their use by the forces of peace and freedom has always been limited.

One big reason for this is cost. Yet there is a deep need in peace propaganda for pointing up what editors describe as "the human angle," for the prime function of peace workers is to reveal the humanity which lies obscured behind the paraphernalia of diplomacy and power. Getting across people to people, Russian people and American, black people and white. More and more there is a necessity to show men to one another. The best way is to get them to visit each other. The second best is to show them in pictures.

Peace News is trying to do this. It is one of the ways in which it may extend its appeal. But it costs money. Peace in pictures can help peace in words and thoughts to lead to peace in action. You know how you can help.

**TOM WARDLE**.

Contributions since January 29: £21 10s. 1d. Total since January 1, 1954: £70 1s. 11d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

## Harwell's humanitarian policy

**A MEMBER** of the National Anti-Vivisection Society has been in correspondence with the Director of the Radiological Research Unit of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell, Dr. J. F. Loutit. The following passages from a letter from Dr. Loutit are published in this month's Animal's Defender:

"It is true that experimental animals have been exposed to radiation from atomic piles and other machines. This work comes under the supervision of the Home Office under the Cruelty to Animals Act 1876, and therefore all possible precautions are taken to see that there is no unnecessary suffering by the animals. The object of this work, of course, is to make the development of atomic energy as safe as possible for mankind and the flora and fauna of the world at large."

"Our practice in this department is, like many other policies in this world, based on the philosophy that the end justifies the means; the end in this case being prevention of damage to a far greater population of all sorts and conditions of creatures than are actually damaged."

The Editor of the Animal's Defender comments:

"Dr. Loutit claims (twice) that the object of the Harwell research is to make atomic energy safe for man and beast and vegetables. On this, we would remark that so far as atomic energy research leads, directly or indirectly, to the construction of bigger and still more barbarous atomic war weapons it is . . . a somewhat singular example of 'prevention of damage.'



The use of animals in military tests is now common practice. The goat in this picture was used in a Bikini atom trial. After exposure to radio-activity those animals that survived were taken back to the US for study. This goat was found to be suffering from anaemia and is here receiving a blood transfusion during check-up.

## Authors plan world conference in London

**T**HE calling of an international conference of writers in London later this year will be the main item on the Agenda of the third annual conference of the Authors' World Peace Appeal on February 20. A new Executive Committee to organise this conference will be elected.

The proposed invitation to writers of other countries points out that the Appeal has been signed by over 800 writers over the past three years in an attempt to prevent the cold war from becoming a shooting war. But the threat is still a reality. After listing some of the questions to be discussed, the invitation concludes with the hope that the conference may be "a symbol of sanity and friendship and that great practical things can come of it."

Further details concerning the AWPA Annual Conference, together with reports of the work being done by members in this country, letters to the Press, "Children's Film Declaration," and the second "Comics Evaluation List" are given in the AWPA Bulletin No. 9, obtainable from 50 Old Brompton Road, S.W.7.

# Ritchie Calder in S-E Asia

## HEALTH REMAINS BASIC TO PROGRESS

Men Against the Jungle, by Ritchie Calder. Allen and Unwin, 15s.

THIS is an important book about an important subject, and it should be studied by everybody who is concerned to do something about the squalor and misery in which two thirds of our fellow-men live.

They will find here a simple, straightforward account of what life in the jungle countries is like, what the governments concerned are doing about it, and how the various international agencies are trying to help.

Some time in the last year or two—unfortunately he does not mention exactly when—Ritchie Calder set off with two companions on a mission to South and South-East Asia for the World Health Organisation.

His object was to investigate and report on what was going on and what was being done about the disease, underproduction, poverty, ignorance and malnutrition from which the region had been suffering for centuries.

This included far more than health, and Ritchie Calder's book therefore has a good

## PACIFISTS AND THE USE OF FORCE

WHY is it that while everyone hates war there are relatively so few pacifists?

Perhaps the biggest single reason is that in the eyes of too many the pacifist is either a cowardly humbug, an escapist living in blinkers, or a romantic optimist who underestimates the strength of evil.

In short, that pacifism at its worst is cowardice and at its best is unpractical idealism.

This distorted view has arisen mainly, I think, because pacifists as a body do not seem to have made up their minds (and accordingly do not speak clearly) on the vital question of the right use of force.

Because some pacifists advocate Tolstoyan non-resistance, many of the general public assume that pacifism involves non-resistance and reject it as too idealistic altogether.

Now the extreme position of non-resistance can only, I suggest, be taken up by a saint.

The average pacifist is not a non-resister.

We are not prepared, I suggest, to give up the protection of the police system (at any rate for our families and others if even for ourselves) however much we may wish to see that system reformed.

But if we support police action we must recognise that its effectiveness does in the last resort rest on the power to take lethal action if absolutely necessary.

★

ONE answer to this, often given by the pacifist, that in no circumstances is it right to take life does not, I suggest, ring true except from a genuine Tolstoyan.

Such an answer is easy to give under orderly civil conditions but would the average pacifist, if faced with the actual horrors of atrocity and torture, refuse to take even the most violent action if that would definitely save an innocent victim from torture or death?

The fact that this is a stock anti-pacifist argument does not make it any the less formidable, rather the reverse. Is it not so often used just because it seems to go to the roots of the matter?

I feel convinced that many young people are kept out of pacifism by a conscious or subconscious realisation of this difficulty; they are too honest to profess the height of character involved in non-resistance and they do not appreciate that they can be true pacifists and war resisters on a lower but genuine and logical level.

How then can war resistance be justified if the use of force is accepted and where should the pacifist draw the line in the rightful use of force?

★

THE answer, I suggest, and there is nothing new in it, is, on broad lines, that force should only be used when its effects can be controlled and directed, that it should be used only against those who are committing or are about to commit crime, and that it should never be used against the innocent. These principles would permit the instinctive individual use of force against brutality: they would not rule out international police action following general disarmament nor even military action to prevent the accumulation of arms, but they would definitely rule out war, which primarily destroys the innocent.

The tragedy and futility of war is the mutual slaughter by each other, often unwillingly, despite the hate propaganda and training in "offensiveness" of the common, ordinary, law-abiding and naturally peaceable citizens, who normally are so far from hating that steps have to be taken to suppress fraternisation when conditions would make that possible.

But modern war has gone far beyond that: the blitz bombing of occupied cities, the atom bomb and hydrogen bombs have now made war manifest murder and the insane advances in military science are inviting world suicide.

The pacifist rightly advocates rational non-violent resistance as the alternative to the criminal madness of modern war but he can, I suggest, also support the setting up of a reformed world organisation for obtaining and maintaining general disarmament.

T. H. IBBETSON.

### By GEOFFREY WILSON

The writer was formerly director of the Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Bureau. In the autumn of last year he was chairman of the seminar entitled "My Neighbour's Bread," organised by two Quaker committees.

deal to say about such matters as education, agriculture, and industry and the work being done by the other United Nations Organisations, UNESCO, FAO, and so on.

But health remains basic to progress in these other fields. The author travelled through Borneo, Java, Thailand, Burma, East Pakistan, West Bengal, India, West Pakistan and Afghanistan, and everywhere the story was the same. Whole populations infected by malaria, cholera, typhus, tuberculosis and yaws, and helplessly accepting poverty and wretchedness because they did not know that anything else was possible.

One of the miracles of the twentieth century is the realisation that these things are not inevitable and the determination to do something about them.

The presence of foreign armies during the war forced the pace. If British troops in Burma or Ceylon were to be kept free of malaria, the areas in which they were operating must be cleared of disease-carrying mosquitoes. This was found to be possible, and if it was good for the armies it was also good for the civilian population.

So the new anti-biotic drugs are today applied on a vast scale and diseases that have held hundreds of millions of people in bondage

### WAGING PEACE IN BORNEO



With supplies from UNICEF and experts from the World Health Organisation the Government of Borneo runs a "Mother and Child Health Programme."

Bornean girls are trained to be nurses and midwives. One of them is here seen teaching a mother how to take care of her newborn baby, while a WHO worker supervises. The younger generation also appears keen to pick up a few hints.

## Can pacifists co-operate with Communists?

### UNDER what conditions can Communists and non-Communists co-operate for peace?

This is a question of the first importance, for with its solution would vanish much of the apparent apathy which has benumbed the peace movement in recent years.

There are those, and they include a number of pacifists, who say that no answer can be found to this question. They point out that co-operation can only take place between groups which have certain common aims, and they go on to declare that the peace-maker can have nothing in common with those who rely for their means of government on legalised political assassination, who have supported military aggression at least four times (in Poland, Finland, the Baltic States and Bessarabia) and on other occasions have used military force to further their ends.

This is a counsel of despair, and must be rejected.

The only assumption possible for the peace movement is that there is in both the Communist and anti-Communist camps a desire for peace which is frustrated by fear and suspicion, and that co-operation in some form between Communist and non-Communist is therefore possible.

### Way to co-operation

I have no complete answer to the question I have posed, and can do little more than offer an opening for further discussion, but I am never the less confident that the problem can be solved. The more determined the efforts put into experiments in co-operation the sooner will the lessons of success or failure be learnt.

Co-operation can best succeed, I suggest, where it is guided by those who view both sides in the Cold War with some detachment, or at least appear to do so.

Any organisation set up by Communists themselves, no matter how sincere or strong may be the desire for conciliation and com-

for centuries are today cured, sometimes, by no more than a few injections.

The organisation of this work—and it is still on a comparatively small scale—is the theme of Ritchie Calder's book. It takes us into the most remote areas—a Dyak longhouse in Borneo, the interior of Thailand, the foot-hills of the Himalayas and the Khyber Pass—and shows us the local doctors and nurses and the devoted international teams at work.

It is in the field of health that the achievements are most spectacular. Yaws can be cured by one penicillin injection and everybody can see the result. Age-old tradition and prejudices have to be overcome, but the job is easier here than it is in education or agriculture, for example. The result is that to some extent the very success of the health work is itself creating problems.

Clothing, shelter and social services and, above all, food must be produced for the people who would otherwise have died.

In all these countries the populations are rapidly rising, more rapidly in many cases than the supply of food.

### Better health brings more food

Healthy people, it is true, can work and produce more, and Ritchie Calder quotes a number of cases where the elimination of malaria or yaws has resulted in much more food being produced.

But these are still isolated cases.

Over most of South Asia, the big problem remains—to produce enough both to cater for the new mouths and to raise the living standard generally.

That is the task to which all the governments and peoples have set themselves; a terrific task for people most of whom have only recently gained their independence. This book tells how they are setting about it and a fascinating story it is.

They are getting a good deal of help from the United Nations and the specialised agencies, the Colombo Plan, and the United States Government and this is making the

## The Sadhu's story

YOU must know (the Sadhu told me) that God gave to Moses the keeping of all living things in order that nothing might die of want.

On a certain day a beggar came to Moses and asked for bread.

"Come into my tent," said Moses, "and we shall eat with me."

The beggar entered and Moses set food before him, but before he ate Moses gave praise to God. Not so the beggar, who watched in silence.

"Why do you not praise God?" asked Moses.

"Why should I praise God?" replied the beggar. "What has he done for me? Why has he allowed me to be poor?"

At these words Moses became angry and, taking his staff, he beat the beggar and chased him out of his tent.

When the beggar had gone, God came to Moses and said: "Moses, why did you not feed the beggar, and why did you beat him?"

"Because he would not praise you, Lord," said Moses, feeling righteous.

"Moses," said God, "that man has not praised me for twenty years and he is still alive. He has not praised me because during all that time you have neglected him. He is only alive at all because I am less religious than you are, and have not allowed him to perish. And it seems to me, Moses, that if I were as religious as you appear to be there would be no-one left alive on the Earth."

With those words God vanished. Yet it is astonishing how religious people still are.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

process of development less painful than it would otherwise be.

But they are shouldering the main burden themselves.

This is a struggle against poverty and disease and ignorance that goes on ceaselessly with little mention in the headlines of the world's press. But it is the struggle that will determine the future of our civilisation; and that is why, although it is a long way off, it is so important to us.

GEOFFREY WILSON.

## Nine months in an American prison

### Diary of a Self-made Convict, by Alfred Hassler

Alfred Hassler is editor of Fellowship, the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and during World War II, he was, like many other members of the FOR, a conscientious objector.

Mr. Hassler received his CO classification and was ordered to a Civilian Public Service Camp. At this point, convinced that this would compromise his pacifist convictions, he refused induction and was subsequently sentenced to three years in federal prison. Of this, before he was finally paroled to hospital work in March, 1945, Mr. Hassler served nine months at the North-eastern Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pa.

"Diary of a Self-Made Convict" is an account of those nine months. It is a collection of the all-too-usual sordid and frustrating case histories, and a recounting of the dull routines and sensationalisms of prison life. It is also heavily larded with Mr. Hassler's opinions of prisons, bureaucracy, crime and criminals, and what to do about them all.

The book is certain to find little favour with those COs who belonged to the comparatively small non-co-operating group of COs in America's prisons during World War II. These believed that some of the worst evils of penal life, racial segregations, mail censorship, brutal treatment and bad food, should

be met on the spot by work and, if necessary, hunger strikes.

Mr. Hassler, on the other hand, tried to find a modus vivendi with the authorities and took part in the institutional programme to the extent of teaching a class in "Consumer Education," concerned with the workings of co-operatives. He even had an occasional good word to say for some of the prison administration, a mortal sin in some eyes, and a hopeless word for some of the more institutionalised inmates.

If English readers would like to learn some of the details of life in American federal prisons—I emphasise federal—this book will be helpful, but not the last word.

STEPHEN SITEMAN.

### Science budget

The figures on US appropriations for scientific research and development in the fiscal year 1954-1955, as assembled by the National Science Foundation, show that the new Republican Congress (1) appropriated about the same total amount as the Democratic Congress in the preceding year; (2) reduced some allowances for basic research; and (3) increased the funds for military research.

—*Scientific American*, November, 1953.

Its propaganda emphasises the theme of unity and attempts to substantiate the claim that all sections of the peace movement are represented within it.

It would be more honest, and in the long run more helpful to peace, if it concentrated on giving clear and reliable information on the Communist attitude to international issues.

### Stumbling blocks

I believe that in general peace-loving non-Communists should take every opportunity to work with Communists in societies where co-operation is possible. The Labour Party has recently taken pains to list all societies with Communist membership in order that these may be branded as Communist and proscribed. This is regrettable for three reasons:

1. It hinders Labour Party members from expressing their true convictions, since in some cases of proscription there remains open to them no society with aims similar to that of the proscribed organisation;
2. It hinders exchanges of opinion between Communists and non-Communists;
3. It tends to place the proscribed societies under unrestrained Communist direction. However, the non-Communist who is free to do so should not, in my opinion, hesitate to work even in a society which is plainly under Communist control so long as its aims are specific and limited and acceptable to him.

This generalisation does not apply to an organisation that seeks to build a united peace front across the whole vast field of international relations.

A united peace movement cannot be brought into being under Communist direction any more than through the exclusion of Communists.

It certainly cannot flourish except by adopting the principle of frankness and truth in propaganda, which orthodox Communism, because of its partially underground nature, long ago in practice rejected.

## Lectures on the atom Fruits of Non-violence

PROFESSOR KATHLEEN LONSDALE, FRS, is among the lecturers in a course of extension Lectures on Atomic Energy now being presented by the University of London and the Atomic Scientists' Association.

She will speak on February 24, together with Sir George P. Thomson, FRS, on "Atomic Energy and Moral Issues." The other lectures cover atomic research, power, weapons, radiation hazards and medical uses of atomic energy. They are being held in the Beveridge Hall, Senate House, Malet St., London, W.C.1, on six successive Wednesdays at 7 p.m. The first was on January 20. Admission is 10s. for the course, 2s. for a single lecture.

## Public meeting on conscription

A public meeting on conscription has been arranged for Wednesday, February 24, at 7.30 p.m., at Hope Hall, Great Peter Street, S.W.1. The speaker will be Victor Yates, MP, who will deal with the Parliamentary position concerning conscription.

The meeting is being arranged by the No Conscription Council, the business of whose Annual General Meeting will be transacted before the opening of the public meeting.

**COME NOW!** Enjoy a break with golden sunrises, loving care, comfort and plenty, storing health. Morningside, Tower Road West, Lt. Leopards-on-sea. Phone HASTINGS 3191

**DORSET.** Country holiday in lovely surroundings. One or two guests welcomed by Misses Thorne, "Lannan Heath", Pilford, Wimborne. Every comfort. Home produce. Tel: 2440.

**Holland Festival of Arts** (June 19-26) Lugano (July 12-22); Norway (August 14-27). Vacancies semi-private parties. Rev. Parkinson, 32, Windsor Road, Doncaster.

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## KENYA STORY

(Sketch by David Larder)

Songs and dances from Britain and Colonies

7.30 p.m. 20th February - - - - - Friends House

TO HONOUR DAY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH COLONIAL YOUTH  
Also EXHIBITION AND BAZAAR of DIFFERENT COUNTRIES  
(10 a.m. to 6 p.m.)

Tickets 1/6 from British Youth Festival Committee 9, Camden High St., N.W.1

## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

## Friday, February 12

London, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Phil Rickard, "The place of force in modern society." PPU.

Saturday, February 13  
GLASGOW: 3 p.m.; Community House, 214 Clyde St., C.I. Annual General Meeting of Church of Scotland Peace Society and Fellowship of Reconciliation (Glasgow branches).

## Monday, February 15

SHEDFIELD: 7.30 p.m.; Annual Mtg. Friends' Mtg. Ho. John Hoyland, "Mankind at the Crossroads." P.P.U.

Tuesday, February 16  
CAMBRIDGE: 8.30 p.m.; Public Mtg. Friends' Mtg. Ho. John Hoyland, "Mankind at the Crossroads." P.P.U.

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bliz Site, Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. M.P.P.

## Wednesday, February 17

LONDON, N.4: 8 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group mtg. 3 Blackstock Rd., Finsbury Pk.

LONDON, W.C.1: 12.30 p.m.; 29 St. James St. Lunch-hour meeting. Mrs. K. Innes, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Non-Violence Commission. PPU.

OXFORD: 8.15 p.m.; Alex Wood Memorial Lecture, Helvys Hall, Regents Pk. College, Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, Chair, Dr. Charles Coulson, FRS, For.

STOKE, ANDOVER: 7.45 p.m.; Debate: South Africa's Racial Policy—Right or Wrong?" Allan Povall (S. Africa Ho.), Tom Wardle (Peace News). St. Mary Bourne Parochial Ch. Council.

## Thursday, February 18

HORSHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Town Hall. Stuart Morris, "Elli Island and Beyond."

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

## Friday, February 19

EXETER: Public Meeting. Stuart Morris. Details from Walter Hulman, Helvellyn, Willand, Cullompton, Devon. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Central London PPU Group Policy Meeting. PPU.

## Saturday, February 20

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho. Hunter St. Area AGM of PPU. 4.30 p.m.; Dr. Alan Letherland, "Tolad Peace Plan." Tea is 6d. PPU.

PLYMOUTH: 3 p.m.; Area Meeting PPU. Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain. Stuart Morris. "The PPU in 1954." Tea. PPU.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

## MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Coleman, M.A., B.Litt.

"PSYCHOLOGY OF NON-VIOLENCE" (Lectures and discussions). Braziers Park School of Integrative Social Research, Ipmden, Oxon (near Reading). Weekend Feb. 26-29. Particulars from Miss N. Pearce.

## ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

ACTIVE PACIFIST, wife, child, seek ground-floor flat, London. Box No. 535.

CEYLONSE STUDENT wants four months board and lodging, London, from end Feb. Moderate terms. Urgent. Reply airmail giving full details to Casimir Swaris, "Lynton," Kalutara South, Ceylon.

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANBURY 1340. I. and H. Shayler, 27 Hamilton Park, N.5.

AGM DELEGATE recommends Shayler for board or bed and breakfast.

SUSSEX. Lady would welcome to her bungalow in country a retired couple, non-smoking vegetarians, either to share bungalow and garden or as long-term or permanent guests. Terms moderate. Box No. 539.

YOUNG PACIFIST COUPLE, childless, social workers, anxious to rent any unfurnished accommodation London area. Moderate F & F or year's rent in advance. Details to R. Easton, 13 Mead Ave., Langley, Bucks.

## PERSONAL

ANYBODY interested in forming really genuine Food Reform Contact Club please write Box No. 541.

CHRISTIANITY. Its two foes. Stolidity and Vice. Which is worse? For free friendly private talk ring CUNDY, WEL 6036.

## Sunday, February 21

LONDON, N.2: 3 p.m.; 15 Lynmouth Rd. Discussion on future plans. Non-Violent Resistance Group.

PLYMOUTH: 2.30 p.m.; Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain. Stuart Morris. Public Meeting. PPU. 6.30 p.m. Stuart Morris. Friends' Home Service Ctr.

## Letters to the Editor

## Labour and conscription

I WOULD like to comment on L. J. Cumming's article "Labour MPs and Conscription" (PN, January 29). I am a pacifist and Socialist, and represented the Kingston-upon-Hull Borough Labour Party at the Margate Conference.

I sincerely believe that the reason why the resolutions on conscription were never discussed was because of the last-minute publication of the Foreign Policy statement, which stamped delegates.

The majority, including myself, expected an opportunity for debating these resolutions after Mr. Attlee had presented the statement. Later, when we saw what was happening there was an angry outburst with delegates on their feet trying to raise this point, but we were overruled owing to the shortness of time.

I do not think that the blame rests on the shoulders of constituency bodies, but on the Trade Unions which have a strangle-hold on the Labour Party. Pacifist trade unionists should consider this point.

I was, however, disappointed that there was no effective demonstration against conscription at Margate by the Peace Pledge Union or the No Conscription Council. The local group did its best as did Hugh Brock and Ben Willet at the Labour Peace Fellowship stall inside, but I think a mass demonstration would have been more effective.

**VIOLET MITCHELL.**

62 Blake Street, Hull.

## Aftermath of National Service

I AM in daily contact with young National Servicemen—both during their service and after being demobbed.

And sadly I notice the utter downward change in their lives. All the ideals they stood for before they were called up have disappeared.

**FRED FRENCH.**

Bow Brickhill.

## Politics before conscience

L. J. CUMMING'S article is timely and important. Totalitarianism is never a mushroom growth. Dictators can only arise at the will of a subservient people who are ready to put politics before conscience.

Peace News should take warning. From being the purely war resisting paper of its early days it has merely become another political weekly, one with pacifist sympathies. The Peace Pledge, with Sybil Morrison's weekly article, is often the only clue the chance reader has as to what the paper is about.

There will always be disagreements between nations and States, as there are between private individuals. The concern of Peace News should be the method of settling these disputes. Once armaments are things of the past the world will automatically become a different place and most of its problems will no longer exist.

If Peace News can feel that it has in any way helped in bringing this about it will not have been published in vain. But by putting

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent editorial policy. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or connection with, the matter advertised.

politics before pacifism, as is now the case, Peace News, like the Labour Party is putting politics before conscience.

**WINIFRED GREENFIELD.**  
36 Orchard Avenue,  
Parkstone, Dorset.

## The small unit of government

YOUR contributor, John Nibb, is sceptical about the possibility of large countries such as the USSR agreeing to any lessening of its centralised authoritarian control.

Yet a well-informed writer in Freedom, the anarchist weekly, states that recently the Soviet Government has pursued a policy of granting a measure of autonomy to both the Ukraine and Georgia.

The position in Britain also supports the contention that small units of Government are likely to prove more satisfactory than existing large ones and it is surely unwise for pacifists to identify themselves in any way with the reactionaries of the Tory and Labour parties who so obstinately refuse consideration of the demands for self-government in Wales and Scotland, despite the clearly expressed wish for home rule in these countries.

**KENNETH REID.**

274 Croftpark Avenue, Glasgow.

## The youth we destroy

IF it is true (Editorial, January 15) that our "problem boys" and girls are a natural product of two world wars in thirty years, and of the training of themselves and their parents in a ruthless disregard for the lives and property of others, then Russia must be faced with the same problem of a "dangerously large minority" of delinquents. If not, why not? And if so, how is she dealing with the problem?

Do any reliable facts exist to show how a State with a different approach to most questions tackles this difficulty, and can we learn anything from them? I understand that Russia had very advanced methods for dealing with civil offenders. Have they been successful?

**S. D. SMITH.**

Woodside,  
Wigglesworth,  
Skipton, Yorks.

## Federalism

**F**EDERAL UNION is not (Mr. Douglas Robinson, PN, January 1) "the oldest federalist organisation in the world." It was preceded in the field by the Campaign for World Government, founded in 1937 in the United States by the late Rosika Schwimmer and Lola Maverick Lloyd, feminist and pacifist leaders. Campaign policy drafted by them as far back as 1923-24 stresses universality of membership, democratic structure and non-military enforcement of world law applicable to individuals.

**EDITH WYNNER.**

54 Riverside Drive,  
New York 24, NY.

## Christian Science and war

• Esme Wynne Tyson (Jan. 29) shows clearly the inconsistency of the Christian Science Church with its own avowed Tenets. Many Christian students realise today that the time for huge organised religions is passing, with their codes and excommunications. A. D. Lindsay, in his book "The Two Moralities" writes: "Real social reform then will proceed not by the method of majorities, but from small groups of sanctified men like the apostles; and that is in very truth the secret of Jesus."

**J. A. CUNDY.**

• The facts quoted by Esme Wynne Tyson concerning the attitude of the Christian Science Church towards its own conscientious objectors are quite correct, but at the same time it is unfair to single out this denomination for special condemnation when the whole established church is equally guilty of doing nothing to prevent war.

**L. C. WARREN.**

Dovercourt.

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# FREE ELECTIONS AND GERMAN REARMAMENT

## Mr Eden and his plan

IF at last September's General Election in Germany Dr. Adenauer had lost and the Social Democrats had been returned to power, would the Western Powers today be so insistent about free elections?

That was one of the questions that was put to me in Berlin and I confess that I could not give a very convincing answer.

When the test came in British Guiana and the people voted for a government that Mr. Oliver Lyttelton did not like he promptly scrapped the constitution, refused to hold free elections and Mr. Eden supported him or at least there is no record of him having insisted on free elections in British Guiana and no rumour that he threatened to resign because the people of that country were not free to elect the government of their choice at democratic elections.

I rather suspect that if the Socialists or the Communists had been in the ascendant, Mr. Eden would have taken a rather different line in Germany.

### Send Eden to Malan

When I was asked in Berlin whether I favoured the Eden Plan I replied that I was 150 per cent. behind him and hoped that as Mr. Eden was getting more enthusiastic about free elections he would end up by converting Mr. Lyttelton and would be sent on a special mission to Dr. Malan.

But one cannot help thinking that the West is advocating free elections in the whole of Germany because they think that if this was agreed to Dr. Adenauer would be victorious. Mr. Foster Dulles believes that as a result of free elections and the sort of campaign that was conducted in West Germany last August and September the way would be open for an Americanised East Germany with half a dozen or so new American air bases a hundred miles nearer the USSR and the import into East Germany of a couple of squadrons of the latest type atom bombers.

Those are the fears in the minds of the Russians and one must remember that their ideas of what constitutes democracy are rather different from ours.

I am not, of course, a Russian. I do not believe in the one party system and I believe in really free elections in which both before and after, the unsuccessful candidates will have some guarantee that if they are unsuccessful they will not end in a gaol or a concentration camp.

### Russian fears

What the Russians fear is not theoretical democracy in Germany so much as what it may imply for them if the future Germany goes the way that the Weimar Republic went and if an aggressive, militant Germany emerged, bent again on reconquest and revenge.

In none of his declarations does Mr. Eden seem to have realised that the last General Elections in Germany were not free elections as we now understand them in Britain. When I was elected for South Ayrshire I could not spend an unlimited amount of money on my election campaign. Neither could my political opponent.

Our expenditure was limited because British electoral law has been framed to prevent the candidate with most money at his disposal having the advantage. If either my Tory opponent or I spend more than the sum allowed we can be disqualified and be liable to penalties when the election expenditure is presented to the Returning Officer.

### The wealth behind Adenauer

In the same way we are limited in the number of motor cars we can use on polling day. Of course the Tories still have the advantage in the matter of publicity during an election campaign for they have the overwhelming support of the capitalist Press and one knows well from our political history how unscrupulous stunts and last-minute scares and eve-of-the-poll lies are used in desperate attempts to swing over the votes.

### PEACE PLEDGE UNION 'Election of National Chairman'

In connection with the election of a National Chairman five nominations have been received.

Group Secretaries are asked to make immediate application to the General Secretary for the number of ballot papers required for their members.

Individual members not receiving a ballot paper through a Group will be sent one by post on application to the General Secretary enclosing stamped envelope.

Ballot papers must all be returned by first post on March 1st.

STUART MORRIS,  
Returning Officer.

Dick Sheppard House,  
Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

### Korea and the UN Assembly

The Indian attempt to reconvene the UN Assembly to discuss Korea has failed for the moment, twenty-eight nations voting against the proposal, twenty-two in favour and ten not replying.

# SUICIDAL INSANITY

Atomic and hydrogen bombs have made total war a thing of the past as long as we do not take leave of our senses and agree to atomic disarmament . . . If air power was in effect cancelled out I should regard World War III as being on the cards again with the free world having to match Russia man for man, tank for tank, escort for U Boat. —Air Marshal, Sir John Slessor, February 7, 1954.

You cannot in this day and age lead democracy into an aggressive war.

—Anthony Eden, MP, February 6, 1953.

THE unfounded assumption that a third world war can be averted through fear of the consequences of an atomic war, is one of the most perilous panaceas against anxiety that has ever been circulated.

True, it would seem a species of suicidal insanity to start an atomic war, but wars, as everyone knows, never "start"; they "break out"! There is a good and adequate reason for this subtly deceptive phrase, since no Government would admit that they were instrumental in deliberately starting a war which piece of sophistry, however, does nothing to soften the effects of the war when it comes.

Even more dangerous, however, is the kind of insanity where the sufferer appears outwardly normal so that no one recognises the underlying homicidal mania, and any guard against it is, consequently, omitted. This is the terrifying madness from which those suffer who rely on Governments being afraid to use the weapons upon which they have expended fabulous sums of money to produce and to stockpile.

It is the opinion of a world-renowned Air Marshal that there will be no world war so long as atomic weapons are retained. He believes, in fact, that no nation will have the courage to attack with atomic weapons because of the extremity of destruction and disaster which would result.

This is, of course, the very height of unreasoned, and almost insane self-delusion. Let tension reach an unbearable strain; let the intolerable stresses of the "cold war" (of which atomic weapons are an integral part) come to breaking point, and the holocaust will be upon us. Fear will be there, but it may well be the kind of fear that induces the madness of despair.

The conclusion that to abolish atomic

### "Cry the beloved country" as a play

ALAN PATON'S "Cry, the Beloved Country" showed that sometimes a serious, well-written novel can become a best-seller, especially if it states a compelling theme in human terms and without becoming a political tract. The film version brought the moving but unsentimental story to an even larger audience.

At St. Martin-in-the-Fields "Cry, the Beloved Country" is being presented, until February 20, as a modern morality play. The Christian Church, which gave rise to the English drama and then kicked it out into the "devil's" playhouse, seems at last to be realising that drama and Christianity are perfectly compatible.

The story of racial bitterness and conflict in South Africa, offset by the desire for reconciliation in a few, springs from deeply-felt Christian conviction. It makes one feel that even in South Africa, land of *apartheid*, all may not yet be lost so long as a handful of Christians, white and coloured, are prepared to take seriously Christ's doctrine of love.

The acting is up to professional level—and the Africans in the cast are a delight to hear, both in speech and song—but I could have wished for fewer episodes and perhaps a smaller cast. Also, the whole production is a bit over-long. Incidentally, it is a refreshing experience to witness a production that dispenses with all but the most simple decor. The spectator, as in Shakespeare's time, must fall back on his own imagination; and imagination is badly needed if we are to recreate for ourselves the atmosphere of a country where suspicion and fear rule too many hearts.

ROBERT GREACEN.

### From page two

One fact involved may be the knowledge that the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission is preparing its final say and that the majority are convinced that the unconditional release of the 22,500 POWs by the UN at the instigation of the American Command was improper.

The adverse vote may also have been influenced by the suggestion of Mr. Dulles that since the main difficulty in resuming the talks in Korea about the political conference is bound up with what he regards as the insult offered to America by the Communist negotiators, to approve of a discussion in the Assembly was tantamount to condoning the insult. If Mr. Dulles expects other people to take a similar attitude, he should not have been surprised if Mr. Molotov refused to continue the Berlin conference until the invective against the representatives of the Peking Government had been withdrawn.

The letter from the leader of the Communist delegation in Korea to the leader of the American delegation asking for a resumption of the preparatory talks, though peremptory in tone, did offer to consider other dates if the UN negotiators were unable to accept February 1. No reply has yet been sent and the talks remain deadlocked.

It is difficult to understand how much further the situation must deteriorate before a recall of the Assembly is regarded as timely.

The Assembly does not meet again in regular session until September, and we hope that the Indian delegation will not be discouraged but be ready to try again to secure a much earlier recall if the deadlock in Korea persists.

weapons would immediately result in Russian military aggression, is based upon the entirely false assumption that Russia wants a war and is only withheld from attempting it, by the atomic weapons in the possession of the Western Powers.

That Russia wants and intends to spread Communism may be true, but that it would seek to do so by the means of war is not apparent, and could, in the light of past history, scarcely be proved. The Soviet Union has, after all, existed since 1917 and it could not be argued, that in either of the two world wars, fulfilled the role of the aggressor; on the contrary their scorched earth policy, and defence of their frontiers against Hitler's Germany, gave rise to many eulogies from those who now accuse them of aggressive intention.

This is not to say that the Soviet Union is pacifist and would never make war, but it is to say that there is no reason to believe that it is the Western world's stockpile that prevents it. It was the West that let loose the horrors of atomic war upon Japan, and if the countries of the much vaunted "free world" were willing then to use means which have enslaved the whole world to the tyranny of fear, it is not to be expected that the East will believe these protestations of Western stockpiling for "defence" only.

It is interesting to discover that Sir John Slessor, in addition to his ability to delude himself, balks at admitting to submarine action except by the enemy, disingenuously setting "escort" in opposition to "U Boats." "U Boat" has a vicious sound, but "escort," smacks of gallantry and chivalry.

This attempt to whitewash everything, from military weapons to Governmental policy, if they belong to the West was exemplified by Mr. Eden at the Berlin Conference in his fatuous remark regarding democracies in war.

Of course democracies cannot be led into an aggressive war; they have to be indoctrinated with fairy tales about their own peaceful country, which only fights in self-defence after extreme provocation. Unfortunately other Governments relate the same fairy tales to their peoples, who, like the British, are happy to believe them.

It is more than time that the world's leaders, spiritual, political and military, grew up, called things by their real names, and let the people judge. On that day war will belong to the past.

### VICTOR YATES MP, on Parliament and Conscription

at the  
Annual General Meeting  
of the  
No Conscription Council

HOPE HALL, GT. PETER ST., LONDON S.W.1

Wednesday February 24

Chairman: Lord Faringdon

Reports 6.30 Victor Yates 7.30

followed by discussion

All invited

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